

THE FOLK IN A CITY WORLD

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City exile brought the *émigrés* into competition with the people of the city, and so further sophisticated them. So it was that when after a period of years the inhabitants returned to rebuild their homes the difference between *tontos* and *correctos* had in the meantime been made more distinct.

These periods of exodus to the city render acute the growing self-consciousness of *los correctos*. *Los tontos* live, in spite of revolutions, in the same single mental world of the folk culture. *Los correctos*, on the other hand, develop an intelligentsia who live in two worlds, in two cultures, the city and the folk, and are correspondingly restless and often unhappy. The periods of revolution¹ sharpen the self-consciousness of this intelligentsia; drawn together as temporary expatriates, they idealize their home community and at the same time deprecate its shortcomings. This dissatisfaction and unrest finds an expression in programs of reform.

In April, 1920, the expatriated Tepoztecos in Mex- [668]

brought them to the cemetery at Tepoztlán. We came down by night. It took about four hours. We took turns carrying the body. We had to bury without coffins, just *petates*. We made three such trips, each time getting back to the hills before dawn.

"Afterward, when people came back to Tepoztlán, all the animals had been killed and there was no corn left. Many died of hunger and the sickness came. Eight or nine died each day. P. R. lived in the house just across from us in San Sebastian. He was killed in the revolution. He left his wife and seven little children. They all died one after another. They wanted just a *tortilla*, but there wasn't enough.

¹ A minor period of decline occurred in 1928. Residents of Tepoztlán who belonged to the radical agrarian party started a local rebellion in which Tepoztecans were killed. Rebel activity was general in Morelos, and some Tepoztecans *correctos* went to the city.

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- 185 ico City formally organized themselves into a "Colonia
668 Tepozteco." The prospectus of this organization an-
369 nounced the chief program of the group: to supplant
565 the then-existing military government of Tepoztlán
with one elected by the people. The aims of the soci-
ety were further specified as follows:

I. To establish among the Tepoztecos a center of intercourse which may contribute to the moral progress of its members.

II. To work for the reconstruction and the improvement, moral and material, of the *Municipalidad* of Tepoztlán.

III. To devote special attention to the spread of public education to the end that illiteracy no longer exists in Tepoztlán, employing for this result, without prejudice to the perfection of the Castilian language, the Nahuatl or Mexican idiom, an efficacious means of bringing the masses of the people to understand the transcendence of civilization, and, furthermore, to bring it about that our native tongue be preserved for transmission to the future generations.

IV. To develop a broad civic propaganda so that all Tepoztecan citizens recognize their rights and duties; and

V. To take a direct interest, moral and practical, in the designation of the local authorities of the *pueblo*, so as to realize the aspirations of the Colony.

In September of the same year a *fiesta* was celebrated in a hired hall in Mexico. A daughter of a leading *correcto*, expatriate in the capital, recited a poem about Tepoztlán written by her father. In this the beauties of the valley are hymned, the tragedy of ruin described, and the hopes of the future announced.

[539] Mas tengo fe: las ruinas
Subirán a los espacios,
Sus bases serán topacios,
Sus murallas diamantinas.

Yet I have faith: the ruins
Will rise to the empyrean,
Their foundations will be topazes,
Their walls diamonds.

1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927) 1930

NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

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Con fuerzas casi divinas,
Tepoztlán en su ardimiento,
Sus ideales, su aliento
Desplegará con nobleza;
Si es titánica la empresa,
Es títan su pensamiento.

With strength almost divine,
Tepoztlán, courageous,
Its ideals, its vigor,
Will unfold nobly;
If the enterprise is titanic,
The thought is a Titan.

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In October, 1921, this same group of intellectuals issued a tiny newspaper, *El Tepozteco*, with the motto: [204] "*Nochi ipampa totlacatiliztlat*" ("All for our native land"). This short-lived periodical¹ contained no news, but only editorial sermons on sobriety, patriotism, and especially on reform in Tepoztlán. The editor addressed his compatriots under the *nom de plume* Cihltli-Tepoztecatl ("Paternal Ancestor the Tepoztecan"), writing in the rôle of the eponymous legendary chief returned to advise his people:

I come to be with you, to arouse you to the titanic emprise of the reconstruction of our *pueblos*; I come to applaud the strength you may exert so that my Tepoztlán may once again be what it was in the decade past; I come to anathematize those evil compatriots of mine, who, with their apathy or selfish ideas of conflict, obstruct the labor of the good citizens; and I come, finally, to be as I have always been, the mythological personage of our history and of our race . . . [*El Tepozteco*].

This developing group consciousness is a product of conflict; it is apparently most acute in those individuals who, coming to live in the world of the city, look back upon the world of the folk. The impulse for reform, just described, has much in common with the nationalistic movements of folk minorities of Europe. The phenomenon in Tepoztlán, in the development of

¹ The writer does not know that more than the one issue appeared.

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- 565 a native intelligentsia, in the local press, in political
 ● 185 ambition, and especially in the linguistic revival, re-
 668 peats a process that has occurred in many another
 place where the folk have felt the impact of the city.
 191 The pride in the native tongue to a certain extent is
 369 shared even by the *tontos*. Among the *correctos* it is
 565 more definitely expressed in attempts to keep alive
 185 and indeed to "purify" (i.e., to eliminate Spanish
 668 loanwords and forms) the beloved tongue. Several at-
 tempts have been made in Tepoztlán to organize
 schools, or discussion groups, for the study and devel-
 opment of Nahuatl. An early leader in this movement
 is Mariano J. Rojas, native Tepoztecan, now profes-
 sor of Nahuatl in Mexico City.¹ But several other *cor-*
rectos who remain in Tepoztlán assiduously cultivate
 the language and have attempted to maintain a sort
 of academy of native speech. The romantic idealiza-
 [186] tion of the language and how it symbolizes local pa-
 triotism appear from the following paragraph, pub-
 lished in *El Tepozteco*:

The sweet and sonorous idiom of our aborigines, of Nezahual-
 coyotl and Ixtlilxochitl, the idiom of our fathers, which was left
 us as a sacred heritage, shall not die in spite of those who, al-
 though physically they reveal an origin entirely Indian, are
 ashamed of their race; our language shall live, because there are
 great and patriotic citizens who do not look down upon their
 race, who glory in being Indian, who love the members of their
 race, who greatly esteem their native tongue, and who work, toil
 and exert themselves for its reconstruction and perfection so
 that it shall never die.

¹ Author of *Manual de la lengua Nahuatl*.

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This use of the language as a symbol of the Indian heritage has helped to give the movement a racial rather than a nationalistic character.

After the revolution of 1910-23 few of *los correctos* returned to Tepoztlán. Most of those who did go back went back to employ the practical and commercial experience they had acquired in the city in order to earn a living in Tepoztlán. They are the artisans and merchants there today. Of the six men who were most instrumental in organizing the colony of Tepoztecan *émigrés*—the group of intelligentsia—only one returned. Except two teachers, he was the only real intellectual living in Tepoztlán at the time of these observations. The substance of his life-history gives in a specific case the experience passed through by that type of individual who springs from the folk, is no longer entirely at home in it and yet can never quite leave it, and who suffers the conflict and disorganization of his position, with one foot in one world and the other foot in another.¹

R. G. was born in Tepoztlán about forty-six years ago. He is apparently a pure-blooded Indian. His father was poor, but, like the other Tepoztecans, had his *milpa*. He was a man of some education, and, after the federal government had taken charge of the pre-Columbian ruins above the town, he was made "keeper of the monuments" at three *pesos* a day. The son, R., lived in Tepoztlán until he was nineteen years old. Up to that time his only schooling was that of the little local public school. In his own words, he "lived like an animal," running about and having a good time with the other boys but with no ideas or aims direct.

¹ Dr. Robert E. Park has called this type the "marginal man" (art., "Migration and the Marginal Man").

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feathers. He offered instead to write and deliver an oration in Nahuatl pointing out the beauties of the Nahuatl language.

By the time the revolution was over R. G. had four children. Their situation in Mexico City was fairly comfortable. But he was only one of a mass of low-paid white-collar employees with little opportunity to gain recognition now that the Tepoztecan colony was broken up, and he had felt more intensely than most the desires to, as he put it, "lift up my homeland out of the sink into which it has fallen." Just then his father, who was living in Tepoztlán as "keeper of the monuments," died, and R. G. asked and secured the post for himself. He returned to Tepoztlán, to the job, the house, and the *milpa* of his father. In spite of the misgivings of his wife, who is a city person and had moreover her own family in Mexico City, he transported himself and family, a few pieces of furniture, and the Nahuatl grammar to the mud-floored, windowless *adobe* house that had been his birthplace. He launched at once into his efforts at civic reform, promoting new roads, new street lights, and a school for the instruction of Nahuatl. He met with the apathy and often open amusement of his townspeople. The practical reforms ended with the installation of a few gasoline lamps. The school failed because, he says, "it was opposed by the priest." In Mexico City R. G. had become an atheist and anticlerical. He was equally out of sympathy with the small radical political group, who are *tontos*.

By the end of his fifth year in Tepoztlán he was thoroughly uncomfortable in both body and soul. His wife, suffering from the hardships of the primitive mode of life, was an invalid, dragging herself out of bed in order to do the necessary work about the house. She was extremely isolated, for she had not been able to adjust or interest herself in the life of the town. Her only desire was to get back to Mexico City. Her husband, a more sanguine person, was at times hopeful and passionately enthusiastic, at times profoundly disillusioned. To himself he is a figure in Tepoztlán, but one who goes unrecognized; and toward *los tontos* he maintains an attitude which some of them feel to be patronizing and critical, while he moves among them making elaborate jokes in Nahuatl. He is a lively, agreeable person but sensitive and proud. He is disillusioned, yet he continues to hope for the

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174 of Cortés in Cuernavaca and on nearby haciendas. This is suggested by the total physical type as well as by local lore. There is a tradition in the village that Negro slaves from Cuernavaca worked as day laborers in the construction of the church. It is said that a Negro lies buried in each of the pillars of the church and that is the reason why the church is so strong.²⁰

369 The village of Tepoztlán well illustrates the Mexican pattern of the domination of the center over the periphery. Since the sixteenth century, Tepoztlán, as the principal village, has dominated the surrounding villages politically, economically, and socially. Tepoztecs today feel superior to the people of the outlying villages, and, by and large, have superior educational facilities, better means of communication, and a higher standard of living. Going from Tepoztlán, the center, to the smaller surrounding villages of the municipio, we find a greater persistence of older customs, less literacy, and more people who speak only Náhuatl.

177 Tepoztecs, at various times in the history of the village, have achieved positions of prominence in many fields and have had personal contacts with men in the highest political circles of the state of Morelos and the nation. Many young men have left Tepoztlán, especially in the middle of the last century, to become doctors,

[167] lawyers, teachers, engineers, and priests. Tepoztlán boasts of having produced, within the last fifty years, two governors of the state of Morelos, three justices to the state court, a state senator, and more than half a dozen deputies to the state legislature. Many of these men have kept in touch with their relatives in the village and have been a constant stimulus for culture change.

[159] One of the early Tepoztecs to become a distinguished figure and an important influence in the village was Professor Mariano Jacobo Rojas, who was born in [185] Tepoztlán in 1842. This schoolteacher became a champion of bilingual education

"I am indebted to Dr. Gonzalo Aguirre Beltrán for calling to my attention a number of seventeenth-century documents, which indicate the presence of Negroes and mulattoes in Tepoztlán. These documents also show that the Inquisition prosecuted the Negroes for taking *pyrote* and for their practices of magic and divination. The following declaration of the Negress Louisa, made available to me by Aguirre Beltrán, is typical: "Asked if she knew or presumed the reason for her being called before the board of Inquisition she said that she presumed that it was to learn what she knew about magic performed by a Negro called Domingo Angola, who had fled from the jurisdiction of Zacatecas, and that she, having fled from her master, went to the village of Temimilcingo in the jurisdiction of Cuauhnahuac and there ran across him and was in his company for three months since last July; and in this time she saw many times this Negro Domingo talk to some little sticks or dolls dressed as men and others as women, and the sticks talked to him in the presence of everyone; and we heard that they were speaking in Spanish and in the Congo language and they did no less than dance the dances of both nations and sang songs of both nations, clearly and distinctly, so that all of us heard them; and the dolls asked for food; and food was carried to where they were, and after a little while they said; we have eaten, now you eat; and when it was time to steal they said, go it is time [propitious] to steal now, and when it was not time, and they were asked, they would say, now is not time. This darkie Moreno also had two snakes, one of which he took with him when he was going to steal, and the other was left in the house to guard the clothing and the Negro women. And once when I went to flee, the snake grabbed out for my foot and bit me as you can see by the mark it has left (which mark she showed us near the heel bone); and this witness continued to say that the other snake which he took along when he went to steal was of the same size and color as the one at home, about half a vara long and of two colors, yellow and black, and she heard say that the snake silenced them (the victims of the robbery?)."

From Archivo General de la Nación, Section on Inquisición, 406.254 (Tepoztlán, 1621). (Courtesy of Gonzalo Aguirre Beltrán.)

and had an interview with Emperor Maximilian at Acapantzingo to impress upon him the need for such education in Mexico. In 1878 Rojas was appointed secretary of the Department of Public Education of the state of Morelos by Francisco Leyva, the first constitutional governor of the state. Later Rojas returned to the village and published a newspaper in Náhuatl called "Xocoyotzin" (*El Menor*), and also a paper in Náhuatl and Spanish called *El Grano de Arena*. In the eighties he organized a chapter of the Lancaster Society, an educational society which had been making inroads in Mexico at the time. Rojas also had many personal contacts with President Porfirio Díaz, and in 1908 was appointed professor of Náhuatl at the National Museum of Archaeology.

Shortly before the Revolution, a small Museum of Antiquities was founded in Tepoztlán, a public library was opened, and night classes for adult education were held. This cultural florescence, though short-lived and limited to a small group of Tepoztecan intellectuals, most of whom came from well-to-do *cacique* families, earned for Tepoztlán the reputation of being the Athens of Morelos. This group of intellectuals had considerable influence despite their small number, and were instrumental in sending many young Tepoztecs to schools outside and in setting a precedent for higher education which has inspired Tepoztecs to this day.

A landmark in the history of the development of Tepoztlán was the building of the railroad in 1897 through the upper part of the municipio, with a station at El Parque—which is about an hour's climb from the village of Tepoztlán. The building of the railroad was opposed by most Tepoztecs, and set off a sharp struggle between the local *caciques* and the population at large who accused the former of selling out the communal resources to the gringos. Despite this opposition, Tepoztecs participated in the benefits which came with the building of the railroad. Many of them worked as day laborers and received the then phenomenal wage of \$1.50 a day, or well over three times the prevailing wages at haciendas. In addition there were hundreds of laborers from other villages, many of whom came down to Tepoztlán to buy supplies.

Trade flourished, and it is said that there were more stores and artisans in the village at that time than in the years between 1920 and 1930. This source of income, though temporary and favoring primarily the merchants, was one of the factors which contributed to the cultural florescence which was going on during this time. Tepoztecs came into contact with laborers from all over Mexico and with Americans. The first wire fencing and steel plows came into the village with the railroad, and the advent of freight trains stimulated the charcoal-making industry.

Tepoztlán is typical of another major current in Mexican history, the relationship and the struggles between the so-called free Indian villages and the haciendas. Because of the marginal location of Tepoztlán to the hacienda area, and because most of its lands were unsuitable for sugar and rice plantations, Tepoztlán managed to escape the aggrandizement of the haciendas, except for a portion of its southern lands which were lost to the Hacienda of Oacalco. But while Tepoztlán was able to retain most of its communal lands since the Conquest, it was close enough to the haciendas to serve as a convenient source of labor supply, and its economy was therefore intimately tied up with that of the hacienda system.

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191 Among the younger generation today we noted a distinctly negative attitude toward Náhuatl. People under thirty-five tend to be ashamed to speak Náhuatl in the presence of outsiders and will frequently deny knowledge of the language, although the majority are able to understand it and speak it to some degree. Within most homes, parents and members of the older generation customarily speak in Spanish but resort to Náhuatl to tell secrets, jokes, and especially during quarrels when they wish to be more expressive. Thus, many children have come to associate speaking Náhuatl at home with quarreling, insulting, and scolding. Náhuatl is also preferred at the barrio meetings for the election of the *mayordomo* and during the ceremonial address on the festive celebration in honor of El Tepozteco. It is also spoken by the *huchuechiques* (ceremonial figures) at other fiestas.

191 185 The rapid decrease in the use of Náhuatl has occurred in the face of the persistent efforts of some Tepoztecos to preserve the native language. One of the primary objectives of the Colonia Tepozteco, founded in 1920 in Mexico City by Tepoztecos who had been forced to seek refuge there during the years of the Revolution, was "to bring about the preservation of our native tongue for transmission to future generations." Even before the Revolution a group of Tepoztecan intellectuals had published a paper in Náhuatl. There still exists a pro-Náhuatl society in Mexico City composed primarily of middle-class Tepoztecos who periodically visit the village and proclaim the importance of using the native tongue. When the bus companies were founded in Tepoztlán in the middle thirties, they were given Náhuatl names, one bus cooperative being called Ometochtli and the other El Tepozteco. Similarly, in sports events like track the runners will sometimes take [494] [551] Náhuatl names.

212 The greater use of Spanish in the village has not been accompanied by a corresponding increase in literacy. The decline in illiteracy in the municipio during the ten-year period from 1930 to 1940 has been from 66 to 55 per cent. We have no data for illiteracy for the village of Tepoztlán for 1930. However, in 1940 it was down to 42 per cent, which is considerably lower than for the municipio as a whole. By and large there is a high correlation between membership in the middle [182] economic group and literacy. Many in the upper economic group are illiterate.⁹⁰

204 There has been a considerable increase in the reading of newspapers in recent years. In Redfield's time no newspapers came regularly to the village, and only a few individuals occasionally read newspapers. In 1944 there were fifty-six people [208] who bought newspapers on an average of twice a week. Forty read *El Universal*, *Noticias*, and *Excelsior*, the conservative Mexican papers; one read *El Popular*, the left wing labor paper; and fifteen read the pro-Sinarquista sheets, *El Sinarquista*, *Ilombre Libre*, *Omega*, and *La Pluma*, a local weekly published in Cuernavaca. [212] These individuals played an important role in determining public opinion in the village on local, national, and international issues. It was my impression in 1944 [208] that most of the more vocal villagers were sympathetic to the Axis powers.

⁹⁰ See Chapter 9, "Wealth Differences and Levels of Living," p. 173.

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423 [511] The *ejido* program in Tepoztlán has meant that 267 families, who were formerly landless, now have some land. However, the size of landholdings is too small to support Tepoztecan peasants according to their own standards. That the *ejido* has not really solved the land problem is of course due in part to the small amount of land that could be distributed, for Tepoztlán is surrounded on three sides by municipios which have their own communal lands. The *ejido* program has also had disruptive effects in the village in that it has created two distinct interest groups, the *ejidatarios* and the *hacendados*. Furthermore, taking the control of the communal lands away from the local municipal authorities has eliminated a source of municipal revenue, and thereby weakened local government and initiative. At the same time, it has increased centralism and made the municipio even more dependent upon the outside.

311 [185] [648] The deforestation occurring in the municipio and the refusal of Tepoztecan to abide by the regulation of the forestry department point up an important problem of more than local scope. Much has been written about the superstitious and backward Mexican peasant who opposes progress and sticks to his ancient way of life. Too frequently the specific reasons which lead to resistance to change are not sufficiently understood.

[493] The case of Tepoztlán is typical. The livelihood of hundreds of Tepoztecan families depends upon hillside hoe culture and charcoal burning, two activities which by their very nature destroy forest resources and bring about soil erosion. Many Tepoztecan are aware that the forest resources are their greatest wealth and that failure to conserve them may lead to eventual ruin. But they are caught on the horns of the dilemma of a rapidly rising population and limited natural resources. It is no less than absurd to expect peasants to abide by rules which would deprive them of their food supply. In the light of the Tepoztecan material, it would seem essential that national programs of forest and soil conservation be carefully synchronized with other programs which will give the people alternative sources of income, if they are to give up hillside hoe culture and charcoal burning.

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243 pasture. For this reason, many farmers hire several peons at this time, involving an
 433 outlay of cash. At least one peon is often hired during the plowing and seeding
 and the first cultivation. Farmers not owning oxen and plows must rent them.

The cost of production does not always have relation to the amount of corn
 produced, because some fields require more work than others. In the specific cases
 given in Table 33 the larger production was offset by higher costs (about 32 pesos
 per *carga* in Plot I) and conversely, the plot which required least outlay in cash or
 labor yielded the least corn (about 24 pesos per *carga* in Plots II and III). Differences
 [435] in cash value of the corn produced are due to the changes in market price. Those
 who are forced to sell immediately after the harvest receive lower prices than those
 who hold on.

HOE CULTURE

241 The land used for *tlacotal* (hoe culture) is of two distinct types, located in dif-
 311 ferent areas of the municipio. One type is known as *terceral*, which is covered with
 black volcanic rock and a semi-deciduous scrub forest in which the leaves fall and
 rot during the dry season and make a rich but thin topsoil in little pockets among
 the rocks. The other type of land is known as *cerros*, and refers to the mountain-
 sides. Most of the *cerros* used for *tlacotal* are of lime rockbeds with many rock
 outcroppings and scrub forests, but of a somewhat different nature than in the
terceral. Both types of land are at some distance from Tepostlán, so that the farmers
 [484] who work this land must spend approximately two hours each way in going and
 returning from work.

241 The use of the communal lands for *tlacotal* is a fairly recent phenomenon in
 423 spite of the fact that Tepostlán has had its communal lands since pre-Conquest
 times. Before the Revolution of 1910-20 during the Díaz regime, the well-to-do
 661 *caciques* who controlled the political life of the municipio forcibly prohibited the
 631 use of the communal lands for *tlacotal*. As we have indicated earlier, their primary
 669 motive was to assure themselves of a labor supply for their own lands. One of the
 [642] principal changes in the economic life of the village brought about by the Revolu-
 tion was to deprive the *caciques* of their power and to return to the people the right
 to use their communal lands. But in the years immediately following the Revolu-
 tion, that is between 1920 and 1927, relatively few individuals became *tlacotaleros*.
 The population of the village was still small and there was a relative abundance
 of rentable land because of the absence of many families from the village.

241 In 1927 the municipio lost control of the *tlacotal* lands, which passed to the
 423 jurisdiction of the forestry department. At this time Tepoztecos lost their right
 648 to work *tlacotal* because the forestry department, as part of its national program
 of conservation and prevention of soil erosion, forbade the indiscriminate cutting
 and burning of trees—an integral part of the process of preparing *tlacotal* land
 [654] for cultivation. With the rapid increase of population in the thirties, the shortage
 of land became acute and the need for the *tlacotal* land urgent. Many individuals
 [185] began to open *tlacotal* plots illegally and were fined.

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In February of 1917 the Carrancistas left the village and the Tepoztecos began to return from the *cerros* and nearby villages where they were dispersed. We were left without animals and in complete poverty. 175
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By 1919 the state of Morelos began to be pacified. The state governor appointed Jesús Monroy, a non-Tepoztecan and a military man, to serve as president of the municipio of Tepoztlán. Monroy called meetings of the populace and advised them that the time of civil war and recriminations was over and they must now attempt to normalize their lives and rebuild village life. But work was scarce because of the destruction of the neighboring haciendas during the war years. Monroy therefore organized the Tepoztecos into brigades, gave them axes, and paid them a daily wage for cutting down the forests and making charcoal which he sold. At first Tepoztecos cooperated but soon this led to bitter resentment, for the communal forest resources were being depleted and this was the only wealth the village had. Indeed, the political history of the village for the next twenty years centered on the issue of the preservation of the communal resources. On the whole the ex-Zapatistas led the group favoring the conservation of this resource, while the sons of the former *caciques* led the group in favor of the continued exploitation of these resources. 175
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To understand the political developments in the village we must turn briefly to Mexico City where an organization called Colonia Tepozteco was formed. This was an organization of Tepoztecos who had left the village before or during the Revolution. The organizers were Don José Donaciano Rojas, Mariano Rojas, Jesús Conde, and Pablo García. The aims of the organization were to be purely cultural and non-political. They were to work for the elimination of illiteracy, the preservation of the native Náhuatl, the development of a broad civic interest among Tepoztecos, and finally, "To take a direct interest, moral and practical, in the designation of the local authorities of the pueblo, so as to realize the aspiration of the Colonia." 24

The first important act of the Colonia was to get the governor of the state of Morelos to substitute a Tepoztecan, José Oliveros, then living in Mexico City, as the president of the municipio. But the Colonia did nothing to stop the large-scale production of charcoal. This led to a split within the ranks of the Colonia as well as among the villagers. Carlos Ortiz and Tranquilino Hernández, members of the Colonia, began to form an opposition group. These men were socialistically minded and urged upon the Colonia Tepozteco that they concentrate their efforts on the economic problems of the village. As a first step they demanded the preservation of the communal forest resources. When the Colonia turned down their plan, Ortiz and Hernández resigned and accused the organization of attempting to re-establish the old social system based upon *cacique* rule. [631]
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Meanwhile, in early 1922 a group of Tepoztecos led by Dimas Martínez of the barrio of La Santísima organized a group of about thirteen Tepoztecos. They pro

²⁴ Redfield, *Tepoztlán*, p. 210.

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175 tested to the president of the local government against the continued depletion of
 185 the forest resources. When the president paid no attention to their demands they
 665 went directly to the governor of the state, José G. Parres. Parres had himself been
 a revolutionary and a sympathizer of Zapata. He advised them to form a peasant
 organization. Upon this advice, and with the prompting of Carlos Ortiz and Tran-
 quilino Hernández of Mexico City, they formed the Unión de Campesinos Tepoz-
 tecos. The Unión began to organize the peasants in the smaller and poorer barrios of
 the village, Santa Cruz, San Sebastián, and San Pedro.²⁵ When they gained some
 467 strength they openly joined the CROM and thereafter were called "Bolsheviki" by
 their political opponents in the village. The village was now clearly divided into two
 factions, the Bolsheviki vs. the Centrales. The former was led primarily by ex-
 Zapatistas, the latter by the sons of the ex-caciques. The main slogans of the Bolshe-
 viki were "Conserve the Communal Resources" and "Stop the Exploitation of the
 Forests."

The Bolsheviki now openly used the red and black flag of the CROM as their
 emblem and began to organize demonstrations in the village. They went as a group
 to the office of the president to protest the continued depletion of the forests. The
 175 president jailed the leaders for a few days and then sent them on to Cuernavaca.
 665 An informant, a leader in the Bolsheviki, described the incident as follows:

We marched to Cuernavaca in perfect formation holding aloft the red and black flag
 which was our emblem. As we entered Cuernavaca we shouted in unison, "Arriba los
 huarachudos!" "Abajo los caciques!" [Up with the wearers of huaraches! Down with the
 caciques!] "Abajo los aristócratas! Arriba la CROM." [Down with the aristocrats! Up
 with the CROM.] This yelling of slogans continued until we reached the palace of the
 governor where we were jailed on charges of sedition for having raised the red and black
 flag in the municipal building. After some days we were released from jail through the
 efforts in Mexico City of Ortiz and Hernández. At once we bought cloth to make a new
 flag. Then we formed a column and marched back to Tepoztlán. At the entrance of the
 village near the Cerro del Tesoro, we were joined by about a hundred sympathizers and
 we all marched through the streets of the village shouting our slogans. In this fashion we
 passed by the offices of the presidency and insulted the president. But he only shut the
 door. Soon our demonstration was over. The next day we accompanied the delegate from
 the CROM, who had been with us, to the railroad at El Parque. In his farewell address
 he advised us strongly against violence.

175 Encouraged by their release from Cuernavaca and the attitude of the governor,
 631 the Unión de Campesinos Tepoztecos grew in numbers and influence and soon suc-
 665 ceeded in having the acting president deposed and one of their own men installed.
 But no sooner was their own man in office when the Centrales organized a delega-
 tion to the governor and returned with new instructions deposing the Bolsheviki
 president. This struggle went on all through 1922 and 1923, during which time
 nine local governments fell.

²⁵ The Bolsheviki, like the church, used the barrio rather than the *demarcación* as the unit
 for their organization.

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In 1923 the national presidential campaign for Calles began and the Unión, under the guidance of Ortiz and Hernández, backed Calles. But the revolt of Huerta against Obregón occurred at this time, and Ortiz and Hernández came to Tepoztlán to organize the village against Huerta. The Hernández brothers of Tepoztlán, ex-Zapatistas, joined the troops of Don Genova de la O, head of operations in the state of Morelos for the Obregón forces. Ortiz obtained about fifty 30-30 rifles for the Hernández brothers and other active members of the Unión who were anti-Huerta. The Huerta revolt was put down and the Unión became stronger in the village. 175
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In 1924, 1925, 1926, and 1927, the Unión succeeded in having its slate of candidates elected to the local government. It was during the term of office of Rafael Gutiérrez that the Bolsheviks revived the village *cuatequil*, which had not functioned since the pre-Revolution days, and built the public washing places, improved the market places, and paved many streets. [666]
[653]

In the latter part of 1926 the Cristeros entered Tepoztlán but were repulsed by Tepoztecos who were organized by the Hernández brothers. This increased the prestige of the Bolsheviks in the village, but their domination was not to last long. Toward the latter part of 1927 the Centrales became active politically and were armed by the newly appointed head of operations for the state of Morelos, Juan Domínguez. Now both village factions had arms. In December of 1927 the Hernández brothers of Tepoztlán declared themselves in rebellion against the local authorities. At this point some of the Bolshevik members of the local government fled to Mexico City.

The Centrales, led by Juan Hidalgo, now organized armed defense corps known as the Defensa Social and the village was again in the throes of a minor civil war. The Hernández brothers and their followers had many sympathizers in the village. They killed Valentín Ortiz, whom they considered a *cacique* and therefore an enemy.

In February of 1928 on the day of the Carnaval, the Hernández brothers entered the village masked as *chinelos* and carrying arms under their robes. The corps of the Defensa Social, who were on guard and armed, were taken completely by surprise. The rebels disrobed and opened fire, seeking to kill the leaders of the opposition. But in the struggle many innocent men, women, and children were killed. The casualties at the end of that day were twenty-two dead and about twenty-four wounded. With this massacre the Unión de Campesinos Tepoztecos came to an end. Carlos Ortiz and Tranquilino Hernández kept out of the state of Morelos for a long while, and within a few years three of the Hernández brothers were tracked down and shot by government forces. The remaining two were shot by relatives of the victims of the massacre of 1928.

In 1929, under the leadership of Luis Quiroz, the Unión made a come-back in the form of a new organization known as the Fraternales. A meeting of about forty Tepoztecos was held in the school and an organization called the Unión Fraternal de Campesinos Tepoztecos was formed. Its slogan was "Union, Justice, and Civil- 175
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665 zation." It had two major projects: first, the building of a road to join the village
 185 to Cuernavaca, and second, the preservation of the forests. The road building project
 175 tended to unite the village temporarily although opposition to the idea was not
 lacking, especially from owners of mules who feared the road would hurt their
 business. But the *Fraternales* were less successful in their attempt to preserve the
 forests.

175 In 1930, Tepoztecos organized the *Cooperativa Forestal Central de Tepoztlán*
 474 for the purpose of producing charcoal. The story of this cooperative deserves to be
 told in detail, because it reflects so clearly the schisms and conflicting interests in the
 314 village. The story given here was obtained from leaders of the cooperative and
 leaders of the opposition group, the *Fraternales*. In addition, documents and reports
 [665] concerning the cooperative were obtained from the *Departamento Forestal*
 [127] in Mexico City.

Tepoztecos and inhabitants of the other villages of the municipio of Tepoztlán
 had traditionally relied upon the forest resources for their firewood and charcoal,
 and a handful of Tepoztecos had specialized in the making of charcoal which
 was sold locally. The forest resources constituted an important part of the subsistence
 economy. While the sale of wood outside of the village occurred, for example
 to the Hacienda of Oacalco, it was never on a large scale. For such enterprises
 [656] Tepoztecos were required to obtain a permit from the municipal authorities for
 50 centavos a week.

In the early twenties the village of San Juan, taking advantage of its proximity
 to the railroad which runs through the village, and because of its limited agricultural
 resources, began to develop the charcoal industry on a commercial scale and
 exported large quantities of charcoal to Mexico City. In 1926 the villagers organized
 a forestry cooperative to meet the requirements of the national forestry law of
 1926.²⁰ This was the first cooperative in the state of Morelos.

The authorities of Tepoztlán challenged the right of the village of San Juan to
 cut large numbers of trees from forests which were municipal rather than village
 property, and the residents of San Juan were prohibited from cutting trees. But they
 appealed their case directly to the national authorities, maintaining that the mountains
 [648] in question were village property. The dispute was bitter and accompanied
 by some violence. It was finally settled by the intervention of federal authorities
 who ruled that the municipio had legal title to the land in question. In March, 1930,
 Tepoztlán organized its own cooperative to which the villagers of San Juan were
 admitted.

Juan Hidalgo, a poor young man from the central barrio of Santo Domingo,
 became president of the cooperative. Under his leadership the cooperative grew and
 prospered. In a short while it had over five hundred members, ninety-five per cent

[648] ²⁰ This was Mexico's first serious attempt to legislate for the conservation of its forest
 resources. The law took control of forest resources out of the hands of local municipal authorities
 and provided that permission from the forestry authorities was necessary before any trees could
 be cut.

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554 familiarity, joking, ridicule, insult, or attack. Although the *Vd.-Vd* relationship
571 also implies equality of status, it is by no means the same psychologically, since both
576 parties extend reciprocal respect.

477 In the light of the individualism of Tepoztecos, a great deal of competition in
inter-personal relations might be supposed. But this is not the case. Tepoztlán is
● 185 not a competitive society.⁷ Accordingly, a lack of strong drive and ambition for
[157] self-improvement and a lack of initiative and originality are notable. Most adults
tend to be self-satisfied if they have enough food and clothing from harvest to
harvest. Among the young people, too, there is a general acceptance of the way of
life: young men wish to be farmers as their fathers are, and most young girls con-
tinue to work at home and serve their elders. The rewards they seek are not im-
possible of achievement: occasional new clothes, shoes, a sweetheart, freedom to
attend fiestas, and ultimately to marry, with some parental help.

185 Most married adults find sufficient reward in their growing children, who by
593 their obedience and labor little by little lighten the burden of the parents and give
some promise of protection for their parents' old age. (See Fig. 51.) There is almost
no pressure upon the parents by the children in the form of demands for material
comforts or for independence. Even parents who do not provide minimum neces-
sities for health and comfort, or who are lazy or who drink, do not lose their
authoritative position or their right to respect. Few Tepoztecan parents feel inade-
quate or a failure for not providing well or advancing economically. Insubordina-
tion on the part of the children would have a far more shaking effect than chronic
poverty upon parental esteem.

185 There is a relative absence of concern for the future. Only the minority, who
[593] recognize education as an important source of security, save in advance for the
education of a son or daughter. It is among these families that self-denial in the
present, in order to gain future reward, is encountered—a familiar pattern among
the urban middle class. The rest of the population exercise general thrift, but it can
[454] best be characterized as spending when there is money and pulling in their belts
when there is none. The absence of saving "for a rainy day" or for a "nest egg" is
striking.

[584] Young people planning marriage do not save in anticipation of their many needs;
they marry at short notice, as soon as there is money to pay for the wedding, the
money being supplied by the boy's parents from the sale of an animal, by borrow-
ing, or sometimes by the boy's going to work for a few months until the money is
raised. Again, when a child is expected, there is no saving in anticipation of its

⁷ Though competition occurs in Tepoztlán it is generally between groups rather than between individuals and, for the most part, is limited to social rather than economic activities in which prestige rather than material gain is at stake.

[578] It is interesting to note that in recent years the introduction of certain forms of competition has
had disastrous effects. The violence, murder, and bitterness which have grown out of the new com-
petitive enterprise, such as the two bus lines, and the inter-village competition in the communal
forest resources for the commercial production of charcoal, suggest that Tepoztecos were quite
unprepared for such innovations.

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185 birth, but rather greater application to the task of earning money after its arrival.
[426] The lack of foresight forces individuals into many distasteful borrowing situations and creates indebtedness among a people who abhor it.

177 There is comparatively little anxiety or sense of frustration in connection with
152 personal success or self-development. What anxiety there is, stems from fear of a
571 hostile environment and from the poor quality of inter-personal relations. Exceptions to this are found primarily among the more educated and acculturated group, particularly among the youth who have been to school outside of the village. It is among these individuals that we find greater dissatisfaction, ambition, desire for self-development, and fear of personal failure. These are also the people who show signs of maladjustment in the village.

156 Of special interest, for the understanding of the relative absence of frustration
183 or anxiety, is the tendency to shift personal responsibility to others or to impersonal forces and to explain non-conformity in terms of magical or other supernatural forces, which are believed to control the individual. The illness or death of a child
[154] may thus be attributed by the mother to the "evil eye" or to *espanto*, rather than
[753] to her own negligence. Illness of a child after weaning will be attributed to jealousy rather than to the brusque change in diet or poor maternal care. A young girl who breaks all the rules and goes after a boy may be said to have been bewitched. A man who is dominated by his wife is said to have been drugged.

154 This shifting of responsibility is also expressed in other situations. In the short
593 formal speech made by the parents to their future son-in-law, they remind him that the decision to marry their daughter is his own, and that he must not blame them if she turns out bad. Parents sometimes express a certain amount of relief when a son or daughter leaves home to work or to marry, for they no longer feel responsibility for his or her behavior. It is also not uncommon for parents to comfort themselves with the same thought at the death of a child.

777 Other traits, such as fatalism, stoicism in the face of misfortune, passivity, acceptance of things as they are, and a general readiness to expect the worst, tend to
154 lift from the individual the burden of personal responsibility for his fate, and perhaps help to explain the relative absence of guilt or self-blame. Even in the face of gross injustice, in which the individual is protected by law, there may be
[691] little or no self-defense.

For example, a man who has been cheated out of a piece of property by a wealthier or more educated person may put up little fight on the ground that he will surely lose against the greater power of the other. A widow whose daughter was raped by a wealthy man did not press charges because, she said, "There is no justice for the poor and defenseless."

777 This attitude is even more striking in regard to injustices against society as a
626 whole or against village interests. Stealing public funds, misleading or mishandling
[661] citizens by officials, or immoral behavior on the part of a person in power usually
[208] go unpunished and often uncriticized in public, although there may be much private resentment. The absence of strong public opinion, which generally controls